

THE MILITANT

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New Revelations on LBJ And Bombing of N. Vietnam

Fresh confirmation is now available that Lyndon Johnson deliberately told a monstrous lie to the American people and to the world last February when he declared that the decision to begin the bombings of North Vietnam was in retaliation for a South Vietnamese guerrilla attack on the U.S. installation at Pleiku.

In his new book, *LBJ's Inner Circle*, Charles Roberts, White House correspondent for *Newsweek*, reveals that the bombing decision was made four months previously, at the height of Johnson's "peace" campaign for the presidency.

The following extract from Roberts' book is reprinted from *I.F. Stone's Weekly*.

"His [President Johnson's] action that night (Feb. 6) — the order that sent U.S. bombers roaring over a remote North Vietnamese village named Dong Hoi — was far from impulsive. As a matter of fact, he had made the momentous decision to bomb North Vietnam nearly four months earlier. That decision was made, it can now be revealed, in October, 1964, at the height of the Presidential election campaign . . . But he also had good reasons for delaying the execution of his decision to bomb north of the 17th parallel. First, there was the problem of working with a stable South Vietnamese government . . . Second, there was the problem of preparing for the bombing raids . . .

"These were the only reasons for delay the President mentioned when he told me in May, 1965, that he had made the decision to bomb four months before Pleiku. But it is fair to assume there were other considerations: One certainly was the fact that the United States was engaged in an election campaign . . . The American public was not prepared psychologically, for a deliberate calculated step-up in the war effort . . . The new policy, when put into effect, involved an obvious awesome risk — that North Vietnam and Red China would respond by sending hundreds of thousands of ground troops into South Vietnam confronting President Johnson with 'another Korea.' This was a risk he and his inner circle of advisers had considered endlessly around the Cabinet table. It was a risk all were not only willing to take, but a necessary risk, they felt, if the United States was to get anything but humiliation and defeat out of its ten year policy of blood, treasure, honor and prestige in Indochina . . .

"In the last weeks of the campaign he said as little as possible about the Vietnamese war (he did not want to 'over-identify' with it, a candid aide explained to me at the time) but did not hesitate to attack Barry Goldwater, by implication, at least, as an 'impulsive' menace."



Lyndon Johnson

The Vietnam War And Reform Politics

— See page 3 —

Johnson's Vietnam Policy: 'Unconditional Surrender'

DEC. 15 — We were just preparing to go to press when the first reports came that the U.S. had bombed a power station near Haiphong. This cruel new act of aggression is, most likely, the signal for a further escalation of the war. It is a crime against the Vietnamese people and all humanity. Every American concerned with peace and justice should cry out in protest.

By Dick Roberts

DEC. 14 — During the past week, the Johnson Administration has revealed more clearly than in the entire course of the Vietnam War that it is hell-bent on destroying the forces of popular revolution in South Vietnam, even if this means risking war with North Vietnam and China.

Without batting an eyelash, Washington's excuse for drastically escalating the war is that North Vietnam is responsible for the step-up in the war.

First of all, this assertion flies in the face of a fact that is obvious to the entire world including millions of Americans, that the Vietnamese war is the result of a popular revolution against a hated dictatorship, and that the only reason the war continues is that the U. S. is supplying billions of dollars in arms, and tens of thousands of GI's to shore up the Saigon government.

In order to make its assertion stick, it is not only necessary for the White House to lie about the causes of the Vietnam war. It is necessary for Washington to refuse to negotiate with the true opponents of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the National Liberation Front. Like giant ostriches with their heads buried in the rice-paddies of South Vietnam, U. S. rulers must continue to assert that their main enemy, whom American GI's combat day after day, do not exist.

This policy was spelled out in so many words by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and President Johnson last Tuesday and Thursday. On Dec. 7 Rusk held a news conference in Washington. According to *New York Times* reporter Max Frankel, "Rusk indicated that the Vietcong's political organization, the National Liberation Front, would not be given any political status or influence in



A Canadian view — Macpherson in the *Toronto Star*

South Vietnam through negotiations" (Emphasis added).

Rusk's statement was followed on Wednesday by the heaviest U. S. bombardment of North Vietnam so far, in which U. S. planes struck that country at 117 points, and the following day Johnson presented a message to the AFL-CIO Convention. His cynical demagoguery is worth citing, just for the record:

"To defend freedom — to permit its roots to deepen and grow without fear of external suppression — is our purpose in South Vietnam . . . Only this week we reviewed our efforts for peace in detail. Our efforts to communicate our desire to talk about peace were met with silence from some, shrill propaganda from others. On the crucial question of readiness to meet without conditions, the response in Hanoi, and still more in Peking, remains completely negative."

Then Johnson returned to Washington to announce the next year's budget. It included a big step-up in war spending, and a significant decrease in the already miniscule "war on poverty." One "defense

item alone will cost almost twice as much as the entire projected budget for the poverty program.

This is the \$1.75 billion fleet of FB-111 strategic and tactical bombers, ultimately designed to replace the B-52's which are presently saturating bombing South Vietnam. It has three advantages over the B-52. It can take off in a shorter distance, fly twice as far, and drop almost twice as many bombs. In a word, it can take off from South Vietnamese bases and bomb any major city in China.

Reporting from Bangkok, Thailand, Dec. 11, *Times* correspondent Seymour Topping revealed that the U. S. is constructing a complex of military installations there which includes a giant jet airstrip, a big Army and supply depot, and a second deep-water port.

The point here is not only to provide greater facilities for bombing Vietnam. One reason that Washington is not escalating the

(Continued on Page 3)

How Rising Casualty Figures Are Twisted

By Herman Porter

DEC. 14 — The number of U.S. dead and wounded continues to mount in the war in Vietnam. Official figures place the number of casualties at 8,151 as of Nov. 27. Of these, 1,377 were listed as combat dead, 411 "non-combat" dead, 6,248 wounded and 115 missing. The combat dead figure jumped to 1,438 as of Dec. 8.

News reports coming out of Saigon would lead one to believe that American casualties are generally "light." But these reports are presenting a distorted picture to the American public.

Two Australian correspondents back home from Vietnam have

"strongly condemned what they describe as misrepresentation of combat results in Vietnam by United States military public relations men," the Dec. 7 *New York Times* reports.

Denis Warner, who has covered every war in the Far East beginning with World War II, explained how a false picture of American battle casualties was created. For example, he said, an entire company might be wiped out in an ambush, but if it was part of a larger force casualties would be listed as "light" or at most "moderate" — even though the rest of the force had not taken part in the action.

Pat Burgess, the other correspondent, wrote: "No one in Saigon believes the kill rate given by American briefing officers daily in their briefings to the press." He said that the aim of the U.S. distortions was not to conceal military information but to make American losses appear less stark to the U.S. public.

Tacit Admission

A Defense Department official "denied" the charge of misrepresentation, but his statement amounted to a tacit admission of its substance. "The spokesman acknowledged that some misunderstanding had developed over the system of describing casualties in

any action as light, moderate or heavy. The misunderstanding developed over a failure to distinguish clearly enough between the casualties suffered by a total force involved in an action and those suffered by separate units in the force," the *Times* reported.

U.S. Army claims of suffering only light casualties seem plausible in light of its enormous advantage in fire power. But the guerrillas have altered their tactics to compensate for these disadvantages. They have emphasized more and more hand-to-hand fighting — the most deadly and terrifying kind of warfare for unmotivated soldiers.

Australians Hit Vietnam War

More than 2,000 Australians marched through the center of Sydney Dec. 13 in the city's largest protest against the Vietnam war, according to a *Reuter's* dispatch.

The march ended at a rally in the Town Hall where a resolution was approved attacking the Australian government's support of U. S. intervention in Vietnam.

Speakers at the rally, the report said, included members of parliament (probably Labor MPs), university teachers and students, union officials and religious leaders.

Australia has 1,300 troops fighting in Vietnam.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

A Harvard University sociologist and opponent of the Vietnam War, David Riesman, claims that labor critics of the war are getting heat from members, top labor leaders and the government.

Among these critics have been Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW, and Patrick Gorman, Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Meatcutters. Mazey had made several statements earlier this year criticizing the U.S. role in Vietnam, but has remained silent since Oct. 14, when the UAW Executive Board adopted a resolution supporting U.S. Vietnam War policy.

Meanwhile, Mike Quill, President of the Transport Workers' Union, wrote in the December TWU Express that there is a comparison between what is happening in South Vietnam and the Irish rebellion against the British. "I do not want to arouse any feelings on this period of Irish history now, at what happened at the bargaining table between the Irish and the British in 1921; but the revolutionary movement in Ireland smacks awfully close to the revolutionary movement in Vietnam." Like most of the labor critics of the Vietnam War, however, Quill does not raise any concrete demands to end the war other than a vague reference to the need to end the bombing and a weak appeal to arrange a truce, while in the process finding points of agreement with President Johnson.

More than 3,000 auto workers went on strike at Fisher Body Plant 2 in Flint, Michigan on Dec. 2. The strike was in protest against an increase in production standards resulting from the addition of truck and convertible bodies to the assembly line.

The UAW members charged that more men were needed on the assembly line to maintain production. Since the model change-over some ten weeks ago, the union and the company have spent more than 700 hours negotiating production standards but failed to resolve some 475 grievances by

workers. Prior to the strike the company charged workers with "sabotage" that purportedly included slashed convertible tops, cracked glass and deep scratches on painted body panels. The company is trying to speed up the assembly lines to produce about 54 body units an hour, but claims that at the time of the strike fully manned production lines were producing less than 35 an hour.

Millmen's local 550 in Richmond, Calif. has won a strike against the Colony Furniture Company that lasted 13 weeks. Prior to the settlement, Colony Furniture hired scabs in an attempt to break the strike. Among these were members of a neo-fascist organization calling itself Hitler's American Sons, and the Hell's Angels, motorcycle gang. In October, responding to a union appeal, members of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee joined the strikers on the picketline.

A survey about labor history was recently conducted among 110 members of the United Rubber Workers Union (URW) in a 12-state area by the union's Education Department.

According to education director William Abbott, they had so little knowledge of labor history that the overwhelming majority had never heard of Samuel Gompers or Philip Murray, and knew even less about the early struggles of the American labor movement.

Other highlights of the survey show: 1) Only seven knew that Samuel Gompers was the founder and longtime president of the AFL (some thought he was still president, although he has been dead since the 1920's); 2) Only 19 of the 110 knew the name of the founding president of their own union, Sherman Dalrymple.

(It sounds to us like they could use *Labor's Giant Step* by Art Preis.)

American workers facing layoffs could use some lessons from their fellow workers in Italy. Recently, Beloit-Italia, an American-owned paper machinery plant near Turin, Italy, tried to lay off 300 workers. The workers invaded the factory and occupied it for 11 days. During this time they were fed through the fence by women and children.

—Tom Leonard

We're Moving Into Another Headquarters

NEW YORK — After 28 years at 116 University Place, *The Militant* is moving to new quarters. Our new address will be: 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. We will have a new phone number which will be reported next week.

As at 116 University Place, we will share space with the National Office and New York City Office of the Socialist Workers Party and with the Militant Labor Forum.

The new headquarters is located five blocks from our present address at Broadway and 18th St. It is on the second floor of a commercial building.

All of the offices and the Militant Labor Forum hall will be located on one large floor which will provide about the same amount of floor space as our present three floors. The new Militant Labor Forum hall will be somewhat larger than the present hall.

The building itself is a more substantial one and will provide better facilities than we have at present.

New Gain in Indiana Case

Prosecutor Concedes Key Legal Point

By Alex Harte

The deprivation of rights and the injury being done to Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham and Tom Morgan, the three Indiana University students indicted in 1963 for their socialist ideas and activities, has been admitted by Thomas Hoadley, the Monroe County Prosecutor who initiated the indictments. In October the three students, who face from one to three years in jail under the Indiana Anti-Communism Act, filed an appeal to a panel of three federal judges requesting an injunction to stop the prosecution under this unconstitutional state statute. The three defendants were the officers of the I. U. Young Socialist Alliance.

In his reply to their appeal for a federal injunction, Hoadley stated if the students were brought to trial before the constitutionality of the law had been determined, they would face "... irreparable, clear, imminent, great and immediate injury." He further points out that "... such a course of action would subject them to an unreasonable risk of loss of property and their civil rights."

Prosecutor Hoadley has also agreed that the federal court does have jurisdiction and that the stu-



Thomas Hoadley

dents have no other legal remedy than to appeal to the federal courts.

This means that both the students and the prosecutor are asking the federal court to rule on the constitutionality of the state statute. A panel of three federal

judges has been appointed to hear the case.

In filing the request for an injunction the three students have been joined by two faculty members at Indiana University and two citizens of Indiana who feel that the existence of this law infringes on their constitutional rights of free speech, assembly and association.

A precedent for the ruling now being sought was established by the April, 1965 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Southern Conference Educational Fund Case, which ruled that the federal courts may enjoin state criminal proceedings under statutes that threaten to deny citizens freedom of speech. Under this ruling the court declared unconstitutional major sections of Louisiana's Communist-Control Law.

At pre-trial hearings in March, 1964, the section of the law under which the students were indicted was declared unconstitutional by Judge Nat U. Hill of Bloomington. Prosecutor Hoadley appealed this decision to the Indiana Supreme Court, which, in a split decision in January, 1965, reversed Hill's ruling. A decision from the panel of federal judges is expected sometime in March, 1966.

Annual Dinner Held by ECLC In New York

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK — The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee held its annual banquet here at the Hotel Americana on Dec. 10 celebrating the 174th anniversary of the Bill of Rights. About 800 were in attendance.

The principal guests of honor and main speakers of the evening were: Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska, whose topic was "Speaking Out on Foreign Policy," and Mrs. Victoria Gray of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, who spoke on "What Real Democracy in Mississippi Would Mean to You."

ECLC Award

Carey McWilliams, editor of the *Nation*, was presented the Tom Paine Award for his contributions to civil liberties. Corliss Lamont, chairman of the ECLC, and other supporters of the committee spoke, and Leonard B. Boudin, the committee's distinguished general counsel, served as toastmaster.

As its statement of principles asserts: "The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was established in 1951 to help meet the growing menace to the Bill of Rights. It is a non-partisan organization with the sole function of defending civil liberties."

Bloomington Student

The committee concentrates on fighting civil liberties test cases through the courts. A number of individuals the committee is defending were introduced at the banquet, including James Bingham, one of the three Bloomington students indicted under the Indiana "Anti-Communism" Act.

The committee announced it would participate in test cases that would challenge the constitutionality of the loyalty oath required by the Medicare law. It will also carry through the courts cases involving the induction into the armed forces of young men who are ethically opposed to participating in the Vietnam war.

The ECLC carries on educational work through meetings and publications, including its bulletin, *Rights*. Those who wish to contribute to its work can reach the ECLC at: 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N. Y.

Vietnamese War Condemned At Hearing in Minneapolis

By Charlie Bolduc

MINNEAPOLIS — Congressman Donald Fraser from the 5th Congressional District in Minnesota held public hearings examining U. S. policy in Vietnam Dec. 7 and 8.

Testimonies were presented by experts, organizations and individuals for and against the war. Fraser, sitting on a panel with a pro-administration professor and a State Department official managed to control the meeting so people in the audience had no chance to voice their opinions. Two other panelists included a local lawyer and a woman from the World Affairs Center.

The panel was set up to be an open forum for the State Department. Instead of asking questions, pro-administration panelists would make 10 to 15 minute presentations after each statement.

Attendance at the hearings ranged from 150 to over 400 people. There were over 40 organizational spokesmen, including representatives of the American Legion, Young Democrats, Young Republicans, Socialist Workers Party, Students for a Democratic Society and the W. E. B. Dubois Club.

SWP Stand

Joseph Johnson, speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, called upon Congressman Fraser to take the following actions:

- 1) Expand and deepen the hearings, letting all the people of Minneapolis who wish to, present their views.
- 2) Call for a national referendum on the war in Vietnam in which all citizens eighteen and over would have the right to vote.
- 3) Re-affirm the historic American position on the right of all nations to self determination.
- 4) Have the Congress withdraw all aid to dictator Ky of South Vietnam and give no money to the President to fight the people of Vietnam.
- 5) Call upon Congress to withdraw all American troops from Vietnam.

Johnson's speech was greeted with extensive applause from those opposed to the war and shouting from those supporting escalation of the war.

Larry Siegle, chairman of the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam, speaking as an individual also received extensive

applause following his presentation. He said in part:

"The United States has absolutely no legal, political, or moral position from which to negotiate. We have only our bombs. To speak of negotiations as Johnson does is merely to use a euphemism for extortion. The United States intervention is totally without justification — it must be ended now without conditions.

"There is only one way out of the war in Vietnam: Bring the Troops Home Now!"

Rightists Attack Vietnam Pickets At U of Penna

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 13 — A demonstration called by the University of Pennsylvania Committee to End the War in Vietnam on the Penn campus was attacked today by a mob of 400 fraternity boys, members of the campus ROTC, and Young Americans for Freedom. They tore up signs and started a number of fist fights. One demonstrator required medical attention.

The 85 demonstrators continued to hold their picket line for the scheduled two hours, however. A similar demonstration on Dec. 10 was also attacked. City police broke up the melee in both instances, after campus police refused to intervene.

Protest ICR

The University of Pennsylvania CEWV holds the school administration responsible for the violence. The campus guards not only stood by while the demonstration was attacked, but they refused to call in the city police. Consequently, the CEWV was forced to do so.

Both demonstrations were aimed at the Institute for Cooperative Research on the campus. The ICR engages in research on germ and chemical warfare. Some of the results of ICR work are being used in the war in Vietnam.

As a result of the protest campaign the CEWV has centered on the ICR, the university is considering moving it off the campus.

John T. Gojack Wins New High Court Review

The Supreme Court agreed on Dec. 6 to review the second conviction of John T. Gojack for contempt of Congress.

Gojack was first convicted of contempt in 1955 for refusing to answer questions about his political beliefs before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Gojack was then a vice president of the United Electrical Workers (independent) and the union was under fierce red-baiting attack by the government, employers and the rival AFL-CIO International Union of Electrical Workers.

In 1962 the Supreme Court reversed his conviction on the ground that the indictment was faulty. In a campaign of continuing harassment, he was reindicted, convicted and sentenced to three months in prison and a \$200 fine. His new appeal challenges the constitutionality of HUAC.

Chicago Young Socialists Slate Special Lectures

CHICAGO — A socialist educational weekend will be held here over New Year's, Dec. 31-Jan. 2. It will feature lectures by George Breitman, George Novack, Evelyn Reed and Jack Barnes. The lectures will be sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

For further information write or phone Debs Hall, 302 South Canal St. WE 9-5044.

CONFLICT IN THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

The Issue of Coalition Politics

By Tom Kerry

A great deal of arrant nonsense has been circulated through both the written and spoken word over the issues which aroused such heated dispute at the recently held Washington convention (Nov. 25-28) of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Through ignorance, or malice — or both — a fictionalized version of the convention struggle is broadcast in an attempt to distort, pervert and smother the essential elements of the controversy.

According to these florid accounts the dastardly villains of the piece were the "Trotskyists," members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. A particularly flamboyant version of the affair was served up by Andrew Kopkind, associate editor of the *New Republic*, in the Dec. 11 issue of that organ of the Liberal Establishment.

Takes Dim View

As a practicing Liberal of the hard-headed and down-to-earth variety, Kopkind takes a dim view of the antiwar protest movement. His attitude toward the youth of the "New Left" is at one and the same time flippant and tolerantly condescending — just a new generation of kids undergoing the usual growing pains. But toward what he calls the "thirties-style ideologues" Kopkind has a jaundiced view and bilious outlook. According to the Kopkind version, the callow youth now dabbling in politics and protest had no "clear picture of what the traditional leftists looked like."

To them, according to Kopkind: "Trotskyists were like vampires — creatures with foreign accents seen late at night in old movies from their parents' era. Suddenly, they came face-to-face with the 'Trots' in the same room, and lo and behold! they were young people like themselves, concerned with the same issues (the war)."

"But now, in a series of baffling 'plenary sessions' of the convention, the 'Trots' were trying to 'take over' the organization, form their own national organization and control the Vietnam protest! And they were doing it not to deliver the protest movement into the hands of some hideous international conspiracy, but merely to do things their way, and to use it to increase their own power."

Thus is history written by the pundits of the Liberal Establishment. Variations on this theme, suitably embroidered with abusive vituperation and vitriol, are ad-

vanced by political opponents of the YSA-SWP to smokescreen a policy which they did not dare openly submit to discussion, debate and decision at the convention.

The truth of the matter is that the large amount of confusion at the convention was sparked by those determined to suppress discussion and decision on the central issues which the convention was ostensibly called to resolve: organization structure and program of the independent Committees to End the War in Vietnam; issues of paramount importance to the future development of the antiwar protest movement. On this score, it is refreshing to quote a source which at least tries to present an objective, albeit brief, account of the controversy.

In his account of the convention, Dave Swanston, editor of the *Golden Gater*, San Francisco State College, Dec. 1, affirms: "The NCC had said the convention would establish 'a national movement which will further the drive to end the war,' and the key question was the formation of a national organization of Vietnam Day Committees."

It was around this "key question" that the conflict at the convention arose over whether or not it was even permissible for the independent committees to have a workshop discussion on that specific issue. The *Golden Gater* account points out that:

YSA Role

"Formation of the national organization was supported chiefly by the Young Socialist Alliance and opposed by the W. E. B. DuBois Club and SDS."

No provision was made on the convention agenda for a workshop in which the independent CEWV could meet and discuss the question of national structure or program. When a petition requesting such a workshop was submitted there erupted a great hue and cry about "dual" organization and charges of "splitters." Attempts to hold such a workshop discussion were disrupted by organized claquees whose rowdy behavior was a scandalous commentary on those who, tongue in cheek, extolled the virtues of "consensus" and "participatory democracy."

As a last resort delegates representing independent Committees to End the War in Vietnam were compelled to exercise their democratic right to meet in caucus in order to hold their discussion and, within the framework of the NCC, to work toward the formation of

a national organization of CEWV committed to the demand for immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam while continuing to build the existing CEWV and VDC.

Now, in the immediate aftermath of the convention, the real reason for the pyrotechnic display of verbal fireworks that greeted the simple request for a workshop discussion on organization structure and program for the CEWV, has become more readily apparent. What appeared as an obscure and confused controversy over "multi-issue" versus "single-issue" organization is being clearly delineated in the outspoken attempt to derail the antiwar protest movement into the cesspool of coalition politics.

The Communist Party, the DuBois Clubbers, their fellow travelers and dupes who packed the convention to prevent even a discussion of role and function of the independent CEWV, are hell-bent on converting the antiwar protest movement into a political machine to elect "good guys," genuine "peace-lovers," assorted mealy-mouthed reform politicians, to public office — without benefit of convention discussion or decision. That's their unique version of "participatory democracy."

Position Paper

The coalition line of the Communist Party was clearly stated prior to the convention in their "position paper," (*The Worker*, Nov. 28) which urged "consultations long enough in advance of the 1966 congressional elections to work out a common independent line of action both within and outside the two-party framework. Such consultations should begin early enough to select key congressional districts for special grass roots concentration." Unlike some others they made no bones about what they meant by a "multi-issue" organization.

In the following issue of *The Worker*, Nov. 30, Mike Davidow, CP "political specialist," hailed the SANE March on Washington policy statement which called upon its supporters to: "Try to locate potential candidates who will run in the primaries in support of a peaceful settlement in Vietnam." This, according to Davidow, should be ranked as "perhaps the most important programmatic point" in the whole document entitled: "What to Do Next!"

Silk Stocking Candidate

Before the next issue of *The Worker*, Dec. 5, appeared, a canvass had apparently been made and a "potential candidate" located in the Manhattan 17th Congressional District, the so-called Silk Stocking district, formerly represented by Republican John V. Lindsay, mayor-elect of the City of New York. The candidate, Robert J. Schwartz, formerly an official of Americans for Democratic Action and currently a member of the national board of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) has announced that he is a "peace" candidate for the Democratic Party nomination.

In the same issue, Davidow advances a clarion call to constitute the "40,000 marchers" who demonstrated in Washington as a "nucleus of a formidable grass-roots political army which can spark a peace revolt at the polls," in the 1966 Congressional elections.

In the subsequent issue of *The Worker*, Davidow thunders: "The chief problem faced by the peace forces is: how to organize this huge and growing movement to march unitedly to the polls — as it has repeatedly marched — in ever-increasing numbers to Washington." (Emphasis in original.)

The rub is that Davidow's "army" is confronted with an embarrassment of riches. There is not just one "peace candidate" in



CAUCUS LEADERS. Jens Jensen (left), chairman of Cambridge CEWV; Kipp Dawson, chairman of San Francisco State VDC; and Daniel Rosenshine from Cleveland CEWV. They were designated by independent caucus at Thanksgiving antiwar convention to establish BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW NEWSLETTER. The NEWSLETTER may be reached at P.O. Box 317, Mt. Auburn Post Office, Cambridge, Mass.

the 17th District but at least two and possibly more. In addition to Schwartz, a "reform" Democrat, there is Orin Lehman, also a "reform" Democrat and yet another "reform" Democrat, City Councilman Robert Low, who, according to Davidow, "last week urged a 21 day cessation of bombing to test Hanoi's willingness to negotiate."

This raises some complications. How is one to determine the degree to which one "peace" candidate is more peace-loving than the other? Perhaps Doctor Davidow will jab each of the contestants with his political thermometer and issue periodic bulletins recording his temperature readings for the guidance of his "grass-roots army"?

Every ward-heeler and aspiring office-holder is beginning to sense the groundswell of popular opposition to the Johnson administration's murderous Vietnam policy. It doesn't require much courage to be critical of that policy so long as the criticism is confined to the framework of Johnson's "negotiation" fraud. And all of the "peace candidates" mentioned above are firmly committed to the negotiations hoax.

Ask Little

But the coalitionists are easily satisfied — and the CP wing is least demanding of all. Even the merest hint of "criticism" from the lips of some slick politician is enough to spark peace-loving ecstasy in the pages of *The Worker*. A case in point: The Dec. 12 issue headlines the emergence of New York Senator Robert F. Kennedy as a "critic" of the Johnson policy in Vietnam. It seems that in a televised program on "Meet the Press," Kennedy opined that it might be appropriate that there be a thorough discussion in Congress before any further "significant increase in the military involvement of the United States in Vietnam." *The Worker* literally drools: "He [Kennedy] indicated opposition to further escalation without prior consent by Congress."

Overlooked This

What *The Worker* account conveniently neglects to report is the following exchange which took place on the program as recorded in the Dec. 6 issue of the *New York Times*:

"The moderator of the program, Lawrence E. Spivak, referring to reports that Senator Kennedy differed with President Johnson's actions in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam asked:

"May I ask you the direct question, do you support fully his present policy in Vietnam?"

"Mr. Kennedy stared at Mr. Spivak for what began to seem a long time before he replied.

"I basically support the policy, Mr. Spivak," he said slowly, stressing the word 'basically'."

In view of the record it is understandable why the CP, the DuBois Clubs, plus their supporters, plus

the muddleheads and confusionists, saw in the proposal for a single-issue national organization of independent Committees to End the War in Vietnam on the program of withdraw the American troops, now! a deadly threat to their scheme for a latter-day version of Gideon's army marching in serried ranks to the polls to cast their ballots to elect "peace" candidates to public office.

As is now abundantly clear the CP and its supporters were, from the beginning, enthusiastic advocates of the policy set forth by SANE in its policy statement. This policy was not popular at the NCC convention. To make it palatable it had to be sugar-coated and larded over with a thick layer of "unity" demagoguery which served to make the confusion worse confounded. There is nothing more calculated to split and fracture the promising expansion of the independent Committees to End the War in Vietnam than this attempt to derail them into the swamp of coalition politics.

Inevitable Product

The process of watering down the militancy of the antiwar fighters is an inevitable outcome of the coalition line. More and more the slogans and demands of the CEWV would be adapted to the vote-catching, middle-of-the-road, liberal and reform Democrats running for office as "peace" candidates. Antiwar demonstrations, protest actions, etc., would be circumscribed and limited so as not to "jeopardize" the election of those dubbed "peace" candidates. No quicker or surer way could possibly be conceived to emasculate and destroy the antiwar protest movement. Those who advocate this course are potentially the real splitters of the movement.

Coalition politics, the politics of compromise and adaptation to the existing two-party structure, is a graveyard strewn with the skeletal remains of many a promising opposition movement.

... Johnson's Vietnam Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

war any faster, is that it has not constructed the immense seaports and army bases which will be necessary to handle the projected force of 350,000 to 400,000 troops.

Meanwhile in Vietnam, U. S. Marines are engaged in what has been described as the largest American military action of the war, Operation Harvest Moon in Quangtin Province.

It was originally reported that the Marine battalions had been moved into Quangtin to "rescue" Saigon troops who had been am-

bushed by a large Vietnamese force. By Friday, the story had changed: It appeared that Saigon troops had attempted to seize the area five times previously, and this time the Marines were going to do the job.

But the real truth was held back until Saturday. Writing from Saigon, Dec. 11, *Times* reporter Charles Mohr stated: "It is becoming clear, however, that the battle was not accidental and that the Marines were not unexpectedly employed as a reaction force. Actually, under a carefully planned operation . . . the South Vietnamese troops were sent out to look for the enemy and the large Marine force was held ready to fight when the enemy could be fixed in position."

In other words, the Vietnamese troops were used as a decoy to locate the NLF position. Once found, the Marines moved in to occupy the valley, and the guerrillas withdrew. There can be little wonder why Washington is finding it harder and harder to corral Vietnamese troops to support its war program.

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Vol. 29 - No. 46

345

Monday, December 20, 1965

Many Hear I. B. Tabata At Los Angeles Meetings

By Gordon Bailey

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 11 — The facts of South Africa's system of racial oppression were brought home to hundreds of Los Angeles citizens by I. B. Tabata's tour through the area last week. Mr. Tabata, who is President of the Unity Movement of South Africa, is speaking under the auspices of the Alexander Defense Committee. Dr. Alexander is an African nationalist who has been imprisoned by Verwoerd's regime for advocating freedom for black Africans.

Mr. Tabata's tour included four colleges, two meetings in churches, a press conference attended by about 25 TV cameramen and reporters, a breakfast meeting, two receptions, and a number of informal meetings with students and others. At Los Angeles City College Mr. Tabata was asked to speak twice. At the University of California at Los Angeles Mr. Tabata also addressed two meetings.

Highlight of his visit here was a meeting at the United Church of Christ attended by nearly 350 people.

While in Los Angeles Mr. Tabata toured the area of the Watts uprising. Commenting on this at the meeting, he said the South African blacks can well understand the surge of frustration, anger and bitterness that brought the Los Angeles Negroes onto their feet and into the streets. The South African blacks are also sluffing off the old slave mentality, Mr. Tabata declared. Like the American Negro, he finds the present system intolerable and is gathering his forces to end it.



I. B. Tabata

A collection at the meeting raised over \$400. Arrangements are being made to set up a local Alexander Defense Committee to bring aid to Dr. Alexander and other victims of Verwoerd's brutal regime. The Los Angeles Baptist Ministerial Alliance had a meeting with Mr. Tabata and voted a donation of \$200 to his cause.

the Troops Home," which was the special issue sold at the March. This introductory offer will continue for only a few more weeks. As the scoreboard indicates, this means that those participating in the subscription drive will have to make a big push if we are to achieve our quota. It also means that those who want to take advantage of the offer should clip the coupon on page seven and send it in right away if they want to become acquainted with both socialist publications. Only \$1 will buy a four-month subscription to *The Militant* and a six-month-sub to the *Young Socialist*.

Over 1,000 New Readers Gained For Militant and Young Socialist

In the past two months, over one thousand new readers have taken advantage of the joint subscription to *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist* which we have been offering to those just becoming acquainted with the two publications.

The hundreds of *Militants* and *Young Socialists* sold at the recent March on Washington against the war in Vietnam have resulted in dozens of new subscribers. The response to the two periodicals by the marchers is still in evidence as each day we continue to receive several coupons clipped from *The Militant* with the headline "Bring

the Troops Home," which was the special issue sold at the March.

the Troops Home," which was the special issue sold at the March. This introductory offer will continue for only a few more weeks. As the scoreboard indicates, this means that those participating in the subscription drive will have to make a big push if we are to achieve our quota. It also means that those who want to take advantage of the offer should clip the coupon on page seven and send it in right away if they want to become acquainted with both socialist publications. Only \$1 will buy a four-month subscription to *The Militant* and a six-month-sub to the *Young Socialist*.

SCOREBOARD

Young Socialist - Militant Sub Drive

City	Accepted Quota	Subs Received
Ann Arbor	75	58
Berkeley	175	8
Boston	250	183
Chicago	225	125
Cleveland	75	39
Denver	25	1
Detroit	125	51
Los Angeles	100	106
Philadelphia	75	65
Madison	25	39
New York — downtown	200	115
New York — uptown	125	67
San Francisco	75	22
San Jose	25	9
Seattle	25	9
Twin Cities	200	52
Washington, D.C.	25	11
At Large		58
TOTALS	1,825	1,018

Malcolm X Speaks

The following is the last part of a speech made at a CORE symposium in Cleveland on April 3, 1964. CORE was then preparing a school boycott. Malcolm had recently left the Black Muslims and was trying to work out relations between his new movement and other groups. The black nationalist convention, which he projected for August, was not held.

Installment 9

IF IT'S NOT A COUNTRY OF FREEDOM, CHANGE IT

You're wasting your time appealing to the moral conscience of a bankrupt man like Uncle Sam. If he had a conscience, he'd straighten this thing out with no more pressure being put upon him. So it is not necessary to change the white man's mind. We have to change our own mind. You can't change his mind about us. We've got to change our own minds about each other.

We have to see each other with new eyes. We have to see each other as brothers and sisters. We have to come together with warmth so we can develop unity and harmony that's necessary to get this problem solved ourselves. How can we do this? How can we avoid jealousy? How can we avoid the suspicion and the divisions that exist in the community? I'll tell you how.

White Nationalist

I have watched how Billy Graham comes into a city, spreading what he calls the gospel of Christ, which is only white nationalism. That's what he is, Billy Graham is a white nationalist; I'm a black nationalist. But since it's the natural tendency for leaders to be jealous and look upon a powerful figure like Graham with suspicion and envy, how is it possible for him to come into a city and get all the cooperation of the church leaders? Don't think because they are church leaders that they don't have weaknesses that make them envious and jealous — no, everybody's got it. It's not an accident that when they want to choose a cardinal (as Pope) over there in Rome, they get in a closet so you can't hear them cussing and fighting and carrying on.

Billy Graham comes in preaching the gospel of Christ, he evangelizes the gospel, he stirs everybody up, but he never tries to start a church. If he came in trying to start a church, all the churches would be against him. So, he just comes in talking about Christ and tells everybody who gets Christ to go to any church where Christ is; and in this way the church cooperates with him. So we're going to take a page from his book.

Our gospel is black nationalism. We're not trying to threaten the existence of any organization, but we're spreading the gospel of black nationalism. Anywhere there's a church that is also preaching and practicing the gospel of black nationalism, join that church. If the NAACP is preaching and practicing the gospel of black nationalism, join the NAACP. If CORE is spreading and practicing the gospel of black nationalism, join CORE. Join any organization that has a gospel that's for the uplift of the black man. And when you get into it and see them pussyfooting or compromising, pull out of it because that's not black nationalism. We'll find another one.

And in this manner, the organizations will increase in number and in quantity and in quality, and by August, it is then our intention to have a black nationalist convention which will consist of delegates from all over the country who are interested in the



Excerpted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Price \$5.95. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

political, economic and social philosophy of black nationalism. After these delegates convene, we will hold a seminar, we will hold discussions, we will listen to everyone. We want to hear new ideas and new solutions and new answers.

And at that time, if we see fit then to form a black nationalist party, we'll form a black nationalist party. If it's necessary to form a black nationalist army, we'll form a black nationalist army. It'll be the ballot or the bullet. It'll be liberty or it'll be death.

It's time for you and me to stop sitting in this country, letting some cracker senators, Northern crackers and Southern crackers, sit there in Washington, D.C., and come to a conclusion in their mind that you and I are supposed to have civil rights. There's no white man going to tell me anything about my rights. Brothers and sisters, always remember, if it doesn't take senators and congressmen and presidential proclamations to give freedom to the white man, it is not necessary for legislation or proclamation or Supreme Court decisions to give freedom to the black man. You let that white man know, if this is a country of freedom, let it be a country of freedom; and if it's not a country of freedom, change it.

Work with Anyone

We will work with anybody, anywhere, at any time, who is genuinely interested in tackling the problem head-on, nonviolently as long as the enemy is nonviolent, but violent when the enemy gets violent. We'll work with you on the voter-registration drive, we'll work with you on rent strikes, we'll work with you on school boycotts — I don't believe in any kind of integration; I'm not even worried about it because I know you're not going to get it anyway; you're not going to get it because you're afraid to die; you've got to be ready to die if you try and force yourself on the white man, because he'll get just as violent as those crackers in Mississippi, right here in Cleveland. But we will still work with you on the school boycotts because we're against a segregated school system. A segregated school system produces children who, when they graduate, graduate with crippled minds.

Last but not least, I must say this concerning the great controversy over rifles and shotguns. The only thing that I've ever said is that in areas where the government has proven itself either unwilling or unable to defend the

lives and the property of Negroes, it's time for Negroes to defend themselves. Article number two of the constitutional amendments provides you and me the right to own a rifle or a shotgun. It is constitutionally legal to own a shotgun or a rifle.

This doesn't mean you're going to get a rifle and form battalions and go looking for white folks, although you'd be within your rights — I mean, you'd be justified; but that would be illegal and we don't do anything illegal. If the white man doesn't want the black man buying rifles and shotguns, then let the government do its job. That's all.

So, this doesn't mean forming rifle clubs and going out looking for people, but it is time, in 1964, if you are a man, to let that man know. If he's not going to do his job in running the government and providing you and me with the protection that our taxes are supposed to be for, since he spends all those billions, for his defense budget, he certainly can't begrudge you and me spending \$12 or \$15 for a single-shot, or double-action. I hope you understand.

Don't go out shooting people, but any time, brothers and sisters, and especially the men in this audience — some of you wearing Congressional Medals of Honor, with shoulders this wide, chests this big, muscles that big — any time you and I sit around and read where they bomb a church and murder in cold blood, not some grownups, but four little girls while they were praying to the same God the white man taught them to pray to. And you and I see the government go down and can't find who did it.

Found Eichman

Why, this man — he can find Eichmann hiding down in Argentina somewhere. Let two or three American soldiers, who are minding somebody else's business way over in South Vietnam, get killed, and he'll send battleships, sticking his nose in their business. He wanted to send troops down to Cuba and make them have what he calls free elections — this old cracker who doesn't have free elections in his own country. No, if you never see me another time in your life, if I die in the morning, I'll die saying one thing: the ballot or the bullet, the ballot or the bullet.

If a Negro in 1964 has to sit around and wait for some cracker senator to filibuster when it comes to the rights of black people, why, you and I should hang our heads in shame. You talk about a march on Washington in 1963, you haven't seen anything. There's some more going down in '64. And this time they're not going like they went last year. They're not going singing "We Shall Overcome." They're not going with white friends. They're not going with placards already painted for them. They're not going with round-trip tickets. They're going with one-way tickets.

And if they don't want that non-violent army going down there, tell them to bring the filibuster to a halt. The black nationalists aren't going to wait. Lyndon B. Johnson is the head of the Democratic Party. If he's for civil rights, let him go into the Senate next week and declare himself. Let him go in there right now and declare himself. Let him go in there and denounce the Southern branch of his party. Let him go in there right now and take a moral stand — right now, not later. Tell him, don't wait until election time.

Next Week: The Press and Its Damages.

THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

Beginning of End of Gaullism?

By George Saunders

The French presidential election of Dec. 5 was a surprise setback for Charles de Gaulle and a severe one. It could mean the beginning of the end for the Gaullist Fifth Republic, the political deepfreeze that has dominated French political life for seven years. It means the revival and strengthening of the anti-capitalist opposition.

How sharp and surprising the setback was can be judged from the appeal de Gaulle made in opening his campaign. He called for a "frank and massive endorsement by the citizens" of his policies and position. His aides confidently predicted he would get well over the 50 percent needed for re-election on the first ballot. Instead he only received 44 percent, a stunning rebuff from the voters that forced him into a runoff against his leading contender, Francois Mitterand, who with Socialist and Communist backing got 32 percent.

This was in striking contrast to de Gaulle's earlier vote-getting powers. He came to power in 1958 with majorities of 80 percent or slightly less in referendums establishing the Fifth Republic and his vast powers as president. Only three years ago, the referendum on the Evian agreements ending the Algerian war gave his policies 90 percent endorsement.

Why the repudiation of Gaullism now? The Algerian crisis that brought him to power has receded into history. Protest against Gaullist domestic policies has grown: workers resent de Gaulle's attempts to freeze wages and hours; the farmers resent his farm price policies; student and intellectual



Charles De Gaulle

discontent reflects middle class uneasiness. The breadth of discontent was expressed in the unusually high turnout to the polls Dec. 5: 85 percent of the eligible voters.

How deep and strong the current of restlessness goes will be first indicated in the results of the runoff election Dec. 17. Gaullists are reportedly aiming to keep the Mitterand vote below 40 percent. But whatever the final vote, one thing is certain: the way is opening for the workers and their allies to bring class struggle politics to the French political arena again.

In this connection, the attitudes of the Communists in France and

without is instructive. The cutting down of de Gaulle's stature was received with mixed feelings in the Communist capitals, from Warsaw to Peking. They favor him for his foreign policy, his recognition of China, his criticisms of the U.S. war in Vietnam, his friendly relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

On the other hand, the French Communist Party backed Francois Mitterand, a bourgeois politician of long experience in the pre-de Gaulle Fourth Republic. Running on an anti-Gaullist slogan, he utilized the working class as a base of support for his personal advancement through the uncritical aid of the Communist and Socialist parties.

Thus while Communist governments favored support to one bourgeois candidate on the basis of his "peaceful" foreign policy, French Communists favored class collaboration with another because he is for "renewed democracy" and against "personal power."

If the Communist Party had been true to the tradition of Marx that it supposedly stands in, it would have run a joint anti-capitalist candidate with the Socialist Party, or barring that, its own candidate. At any rate, it did not adhere to the class principle of using the rulers' elections to project the distinct voice and interests of the working class.

Behind the French CP's support for Mitterand lies the hope of a bloc with the "progressive" capitalists, a revival of some sort of Popular Front. For this they abandoned any pretense of independence, as spokesmen of the oppressed class, as revolutionaries, as socialists.

Anti-Imperialist Parley To Be Held in Havana

A tricontinental anti-imperialist conference will be held in Havana Jan. 3-10. Some 500 delegates from Asia, Africa and Latin America will participate.

An outgrowth of the Afro-Asian Conference, the tricontinental conference will include 75 Afro-Asian organizations and a still undetermined number of Latin American organizations. A Latin American committee will draw up a list of organizations throughout the continent considered authentic parts of the movement against imperialism and will invite them to participate.

A spokesman for the preparatory committee said imperialism has adopted a global strategy and the anti-imperialist movement should also adopt a world-wide strategy.

A number of countries free of imperialist domination, including China and the Soviet Union, are expected to send delegations with government support.

A four-point draft agenda for the conference has been issued.

The four points (published with more concrete sub-points) include:

- 1: Fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.
- 2: Urgent problems of the anti-imperialist struggle in the countries of the three continents and particularly in Vietnam, Dominican Republic, Congo, Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia, South Arabia and Palestine.



Fidel Castro

3: Anti-imperialist solidarity among the Afro-Asian-Latin American people in the economic, social and cultural aspects.

4: Political unification and organization of the African, Asian and Latin American efforts in their common struggle for national liberation.

The conference call declares: "The holding of our conference in Havana, coinciding with the seventh anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, is a homage paid to the heroic Cuban people."

THE RHODESIAN CRISIS

Role of African States

By Dick Roberts

On Dec. 3, the Organization of African Unity called upon all the African nations to sever diplomatic relations with Britain, if Britain had not intervened to break Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's white-supremacist rebellion by Dec. 15. But only a few days later, it became clear that certain African nations would not go through with the OAU's resolution, and would do everything in their power to keep other African nations in line.

The principal figure in this unfolding drama is Zambia's president Kenneth Kaunda. Kaunda is trapped between two irreconcilable forces in Africa. On one side are the masses of black Africa who demand black rule and black ownership of all the wealth of the continent. On the other side are the white financial barons of London and New York who to this day own most of Africa's mines, from Ghana to Tanzania and from South Africa to the Congo.

The former demand an immediate and uncompromising shift of Rhodesian rule from the white minority of 220,000 to the black majority of four million. The latter would like to go it slow. Their plan for Rhodesia, sponsored by British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, calls for a return to the 1961 Rhodesian Constitution, whereby only one half of one percent of the blacks were allowed to vote. Under this constitution there can be little question but that it would take a decade or more for the Rhodesian black majority to gain the upper hand, during which time Britain hopes it can "train" a Negro leadership in Rhodesia, responsible to white financial interests.

Kaunda is such a man, and he is well-suited to his role of protecting American and British cop-

per interests in Zambia, while appearing to be furthering the demands of Africa's masses. The following editorial praise for Kaunda from the Dec. 10 *Wall Street Journal* needs no comment:

"In the politicking that preceded independence," the *Journal* declares, "and in his first 13-and-a-half months in office he has fostered white-black cooperation in Zambia, promoted stability by muting African hotheads who wanted to speed the withdrawal of white influence from Zambia, and has generally given a picture of a man more interested in solving the problems of his own country than in launching any pan-African ventures beyond Zambia's borders."

On Dec. 8, Kaunda declared he would not break relations with Britain, and he was followed on Dec. 10 by Jomo Kenyatta, Ken-

yan President, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria, and Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia. Dec. 12, Kaunda took it upon his shoulders to fly to Tanzania, in hopes of persuading Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere to follow suit.

But there is little chance that Nyerere will capitulate. Lining up against Kaunda and Kenyatta, besides Tanzania, are Algeria, Mali and Guinea, whose leaders are outspoken advocates of African unity.

What course the present schism will take now cannot be predicted. It is certain that many African leaders support the demand for armed intervention of either Britain or the United Nations.

But there are guerrilla resistances to imperialist powers in Angola, Mozambique, and the Sudan, at this very moment. In the same *Wall Street Journal* editorial cited above it was reported that thousands of Sudanese blacks are being murdered by the Arab masters of this country. The OAU has stayed out of all these areas, just as it supported a cease-fire in the Congo, rather than coming to the Congolese liberation fighters' defense against the American financed white mercenaries in November, 1964.

Thus there is another aspect of the Rhodesian situation. That is the question of whether those African leaders who demand a harder stand by Britain, will take action themselves, should Britain fail to act, as indeed is likely. Ultimately, this is the decisive question for Africa.

It will be up to the African masses themselves, finally to rid Africa of its present system of white dominance. There can be no reliance on Britain or the United Nations to carry through such a design, when it means nothing short of asking them to cut their own throats.



Harold Wilson

REVIEWS
and
REPORTS

REPORT OF A RETURN VISIT TO CUBA by Lyle Stuart. An article in the November, 1965 issue of *The Independent*, 239 Park Ave. South, New York, N. Y. 10003. \$3 a year. 25¢ a copy.

This is an account by an American publisher and journalist of a trip to Cuba last October.

Lyle Stuart has visited Cuba several times since the revolution and has been generally sympathetic, though not uncritical of the revolutionary regime. He says he decided on this latest trip because of a cover story in the Oct. 8 issue of *Time* magazine entitled "Cuba: The Decaying Revolution," which depicted Cuba as hungry, tattered and dull, and Fidel Castro as having turned into a recluse who only saw Communist bloc newsmen.

Stuart got a five-hour interview with Castro — at which other Western newsmen, including one from the *New York Times*, were present.

Stuart's own observations are that food is "much more plentiful and varied than last year," that as far as clothing is concerned "quality is somewhat improved and the quantity is much improved," and that "rents are low but housing is still in short supply and there are still many people who live in old substandard quarters."

Of Fidel, Stuart says "He is everywhere," speaking at the university on many an evening, is often seen driving through the streets, playing baseball, and in general looks and behaves as he did during Stuart's previous visits.

Stuart spent some time at Camarioca — before the recent U. S. Cuban agreement for planes to go to Miami, and while Cubans living in the U. S. were still coming

to Camarioca on invitation of the Cuban government to take relatives to the U. S. in boats.

He interviewed many of those leaving, as well as those who had come to pick them up. He found very few of those leaving hostile to the revolution. "It was evident," says Stuart, "that if Camarioca continued to function, the Cubans would reap two dividends. The good-will would help take out whatever sting was still left in the counter-revolutionary movement in Miami. More, the arrival of the new exiles would further water down the anti-Castro feeling among Cubans in the States for most of these people were inclined to be neutral."

In addition, says Stuart, "Fidel has been pointing out for years that he didn't stop the exodus of Cubans who want to leave their country. It was the United States which cancelled the air flights and the ship transportation."

On this trip Stuart also interviewed Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, a leader of the pre-revolutionary Communist Party; Carlos Franqui, former editor of *Revolucion*, and others. The article contains no serious "in depth" reporting of the economic, social or political developments in Cuba. It is simply a long, rambling personal account of a visit, something like a letter to a friend. But it is candid and contains much information not generally available to U. S. readers. It is accompanied by a number of photographs taken on the trip.

— Fred Halstead

It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness. — Karl Marx.

Kosygin's Interview With Reston

By Barry Sheppard

The interview Soviet Premier Alexsei N. Kosygin recently granted to James Reston, associate editor of the *New York Times*, and printed in the Dec. 8 issue of that paper, was interpreted by Reston as the "sharpest attack he has made on 'United States foreign policy since he took office a little over a year ago.'"

It certainly betokens a stiffening of Moscow's attitude toward Washington. This was underlined by the anti-American demonstrations in Moscow, the declarations along the same lines by Foreign Minister Gromyko at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet, and the five percent increase in the Soviet military budget.

This shift in tone is Moscow's response to the escalation of the war in Vietnam and Washington's efforts to give West Germany its share of control over nuclear weapons under NATO. The Soviet leadership is also under heavy pressure from the other workers' states to demonstrate firmer resistance to U.S. aggression and to counteract charges from Peking that it is in collusion with the American imperialists. Moreover, it cannot appear less critical of Johnson's policy than the antiwar movement in the U.S.

In the interview Reston con-

fronted the Soviet Premier with the dilemma posed by the conflict between the official Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence with imperialism and the irrepressible revolutionary struggles in the colonial world.

"Last year when I came here," Reston said, "I was disturbed about one fundamental aspect of your policy. It seemed to me that you were calling for 'peaceful coexistence' and at the same time demanding the right to wage 'wars of national liberation.' . . . How can you reconcile 'peaceful coexistence' and these 'wars of national liberation?'"

Can't Stop Them

Kosygin answered him: "We believe that 'wars of national liberation' are just wars, and they will continue as long as there is national oppression by imperialist powers. Take Southern Rhodesia. There will be a national liberation war there. Are the local citizens going to say: 'Okay, go ahead and push us into ghettos and ring us with barbed wire?' No, they'll fight for their rights."

"In South Vietnam, there is a national liberation war. These people do not want to be governed by United States puppets. If you continue to fight there, the people will go on rising up . . . There is



Alexsei Kosygin

not peaceful coexistence between the slaveowner and the slave. We have never conceived of such a peaceful coexistence."

Peking has charged that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. are moving toward a deal whereby they would dominate the rest of the world. Reston broached this subject by suggesting that "the problems of Asia, Africa and elsewhere will create new issues which threaten both of us . . . What I am interested to know . . . whether you anticipate the present division [between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. in the next 10-15 years] or whether you think it is possible that these two major powers can work together for world order."

World Order?

Kosygin answered, "I am not quite clear on your meaning there. Of world order — what does this mean? The United States and the Soviet Union, the two most powerful states, should dictate our wills to other nations? This is a most inappropriate principle. If we should attempt to command other nations, that would be tantamount to Fascism."

After explaining that he would like to come to terms with the U.S., Kosygin charged: "The United States is now acting toward quite a different direction. In Europe, the United States is trying to build up tensions, to create an atmosphere conducive to war . . . Why are you arming West Germany and setting her against us, the Bulgarians, the Poles, the Czechs, the Hungarians, the Rumanians? Why do you want to oppose West Germany to us and our friends?"

Soviet Increase

As a result of the arming of Germany, and "the fact that the United States is increasing its military budget every year," Kosygin announced that "I can tell you that tomorrow our Supreme Soviet is going to meet, and we will announce an increase in our military budget, an increase of five percent."

Whatever changing moves in Soviet foreign policy this hardened attitude may portend, there is no indication of any essential change in the course of the parties under its influence. The French CP is attempting to revive the class-collaborationist policies of the Popular Front; the CP's in the colonial countries which remain loyal to Moscow are still against struggle for socialist revolution and for subordination to the national bourgeoisie; the U.S. Communist Party continues to vigorously practice coalition politics with the Democratic Party. In short, "peaceful coexistence between the slaveowner and the slave," remains the basic policy of the Kremlin and those who follow its line.

Questions and Answers About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and capitalism. If you have a question you would like to see taken up in this column, please send it in. Comments and criticism are welcome.]

Why do you refuse on principle to support any Democratic or Republican party candidate regardless of what he stands for?

Both the Democratic and Republican parties are controlled in every key aspect by big business. Big business finances them, it controls their leading committees, it controls their conventions and it determines all their major policies. Both parties, particularly the Democratic Party, do include other forces besides big business — such as most of the trade union leadership and most of the civil rights leadership — and most ordinary working people are nominal members of one of the two parties. But big business controls them. The fact that other social strata besides the capitalists are trapped inside these capitalist parties simply means that their political interests are subordinated to the interests of the capitalists.

Good Guy

Once in a while, there does appear a candidate of a capitalist party who claims to have the interests of the oppressed at heart. He may even run on a platform which contains some planks which are directly opposed to the policy of the capitalist parties at the time. But such candidates, even if they are elected to a minor post here or there or to a legislative body, cannot change the policies of the capitalist parties in any fundamental or significant sense.

The fact, for example, that a few congressmen may be elected on the Democratic or Republican ticket who are critical of the administration's involvement in Vietnam, makes no appreciable difference in that policy. And it is manifestly impossible to "take over" the capitalist parties for a program opposed to the interests of the capitalist class and its imperialist plans.

The fact that such candidates do exist here and there simply serves as a cover for the capitalist parties. It serves to channel the working class, the Negro people, and the antiwar forces into the capitalist, pro-imperialist parties, and to trap these forces into support for the system which carries out the very policies to which they are opposed.

The question of running anti-capitalist or antiwar candidates in the primaries of one of the two capitalist parties, particularly the Democratic Party, is often raised. We think it's a waste of time and effort, or worse. For one thing, it is the primaries which are most heavily controlled by the party machine, and therefore it is extremely difficult for anyone not supported by that machine, or who has not made his peace with that machine, to win in the primary.

Registration Problem

For another thing, when a candidate runs in the Democratic primary, for example, it means he must campaign to have people register as members of that party so they can be eligible to vote in that party's primary. This is a form of support to the whole party. It sows illusions that the party is a proper instrument for working class political action. It also means that people are to some extent committed to support that party's candidate no matter who wins in the primary.

Very often the machine will purposely have some left-wing liberal run in the primary, in order to channel the protest forces within the party machinery. And then,



Henry A. Wallace

after he loses, the left-liberal throws his support to the party candidate. Many of those who supported him to protest the party's stand end up voting in the general election for exactly what they didn't want.

When we speak of working class independent political action we mean not just any kind of independent political action, but a particular kind: political action independent of the capitalist class, of the capitalist candidates, and of the capitalist parties. We do not consider running in the primaries of the Democratic or Republican parties to be independent political action. We do not consider voting for the occasional maverick Democrat or Republican to be independent political action. We do not even consider a third party to be independent political action unless it is a third party which does not have a capitalist program or is not based upon or controlled by capitalists.

100% Independent

Independent working class political action means support for candidates which are independent of the capitalist parties, independent of any capitalist parties.

The 1948 campaign for President by Henry Wallace in the Progressive Party was not independent working class political action. It was a third party, true enough, and a party whose program differed in at least one crucial aspect from that of the two major capitalist parties. The Progressive Party did not support the cold war. But it was not a working class party. It contained many liberal capitalist elements and it had a liberal capitalist program.

Such a party is incapable of expressing the interests of the working class, because the capitalist elements in it insist on dominating it or they leave it. And the capitalist elements inexorably tend to support the interests of the capitalist class, including imperialist war. When the test of the Korean war came about, Wallace supported U.S. involvement in that war, and the Progressive Party was finished for all practical purposes. Such an outcome was inevitable, in our opinion.

—Fred Halstead

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Vietnam Discussion

New York, N. Y.
I work in an office in the Madison Avenue-ish midtown section of Manhattan. In one section of the office is a large room where more than a hundred women work together. Today, as I was going over there, I found a furious argument going on. It was a debate on U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

I was almost in shock. After all, I expected this on a campus, but the reality of how deep the anti-war sentiment is in this country really hit me.

I joined the debate and, along with others, argued for the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. Here were women from many backgrounds — none of them, however, from a background of previous experience with protests — for the first time in their lives trying to decide the fate of their country the way it should be decided, from the decision of the people themselves.

Another interesting thing came out of this. Those women who

thought the U.S. was wrong thought we should GET OUT. There was no half-way with them. If we are wrong, we should get out. Logical? Of course.

The difficult thing, of course, is to convince people that the U.S. is wrong in Vietnam. These people aren't international lawyers or students going for their doctorate in Asian politics; but they knew from their American schooling in democracy that self-determination is the thing this country is founded on, and they think the Vietnamese have the same right.

T.R.

Capitalist 'Humanitarians'

Baltimore, Md.

Members of the State Legislature have demanded that the Welfare Department tighten up its procedures for letting people on welfare.

It also wants Welfare to take a more "aggressive" approach to distributing birth control information to people on relief.

It looks to me like soon they will make birth control a compulsory law for poor people. Maybe after a while our capitalist dictators will kill all children of the poor under the age of two, and save even more money for the rich taxpayer.

Maybe the capitalist goal is like King Herod's — to kill all the children.

W.C.

Impeach the Lot

Filmore, Utah
When the chips are down and all the elected representatives of law and order have proven themselves mere tools of aggression, it's time for men to take action before the war-mongering factions make our good earth a cinder of nuclear annihilation.

Therefore I petition impeachment of the entire lot from President Johnson down to our House of Miss-Representatives.

Ben Franklin warned: "The military arm is a consuming monster, at all times curtail it."

A. C. Gregerson

Soviet-Cuban Pact

New York, N.Y.

A report from Havana in today's New York Herald Tribune (Dec. 10) says the Soviet Union and Cuba have signed an agreement under which the Soviet Union will cut its price on any item if the Cubans can show that it's available elsewhere for less.

The report said the agreement was signed in Moscow early this year and published in the Cuban government's Official Gazette.

In Case the Party Gets Rough —

If you have wall-to-wall carpeting throughout your home and a light-footed lady who needs new slippers, you may be interested in a little novelty item from Bergdorf Goodman. It's a pair of gold snake-skin slippers paved with tiny jewel-like pieces of glass. Only \$175.

A Real American Gift — Some readers have indicated that the gift items from Tiffany's, etc., that we occasionally recommend cost a bit more than they care to spend. So we're happy to report that we've found an inexpensive gift — one that we're sure was conceived by the molders of American culture. It's toilet paper imprinted with hilarious holiday cartoons. Only 59 cents a roll.

For That Capitalist-Minded Friend — If you happen to be looking for a gift that symbolizes the free-enterprise system, why not try a Schnitzelbank. You put a coin on the box and a hand mysteriously emerges, grabs the coin and disappears.

—Harry Ring

The reporter said the Cubans felt the Russians had been overcharging them for products to offset the agreement under which the Soviet Union is paying Cuba six cents a pound for sugar when the world market price is two cents. Even that is hardly a justification since Cuba agreed to sell the USSR sugar for six cents a pound when the world market price was ten cents.

In any event the agreement indicates that if Cuba is a Soviet "satellite," the word needs redefining.

H.C.

A Solution

Santa Cruz, Calif.

Is it possible that the dream of brotherhood may come to pass at last?

A group of students who hate war and a group of service men, at present out of service, have decided to help the rulers of the world bring about the peace they say they want.

These boys and girls, whose very lives are at stake, are offering to try to arrange an international "date line," when every weapon-for-war is to be outlawed, never to be used again. Who but the munitions profiteers and those who are competing for more power could object to this simple solution?

H.C.B.

Truth Seeker

Detroit, Mich.

I didn't renew my subscription right away because I may be out of town for six months, but I am renewing my subscription anyway. If I am away it can be forwarded to my brother.

I am renewing my subscription because I believe in your paper, it speaks the truth. I believe in the truth and think it is wonderful for a paper to bring out the truth.

B.T.

Protests by Catholics

New York, N.Y.

In relation to your article which appeared in *The Militant* of last week, concerning the silencing of three priests who spoke out against the U.S. government's war against the people of Vietnam the following is newsworthy.

1) Over 1,000 Catholic priests, nuns, intellectuals and stu-

dents signed an ad in the Sunday, Dec. 12, *New York Times* calling for the return of Father Daniel Berrigan to his work in New York and defending his right to speak out against the U.S. government's role in Vietnam. This letter of protest was directed at the authorities of the Archdiocese of New York and the Jesuit Community in New York City. The organizational form of this group is the "Institute for Freedom in the Church" Box 204, Jamaica, N.Y. 11431.

2) Father Bonaventure O'Brien, teaching at the Franciscan-staffed Siena College in upstate New York began working in the Negro slums of Albany and in an effort to eradicate some of the misery that dwells therein came in conflict with the political powers of New York's capital city. As a result the political bosses had the Bishop of Albany William Scully put Fr. O'Brien under wraps. "He is now forbidden to concern himself with local social problems" according to *Commonweal* magazine (Dec. 10, 1965) which carried the story.

3) Cardinal McIntyre who last year disciplined a priest (Fr. William Dubay) for his concern with the indifference of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese with problems of the black people in the Los Angeles area (which includes Watts), has now forced the sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary to stop selling Christmas cards of a Sister Corita due to loud complaints of the local Birch Society (which has a priest on its board of trustees and has been endorsed twice by Cardinal Cushing of Boston) that the cards contained "Communist art."

4) This year at Manhattan College in New York and last year at Seton Hall University of South Orange, N. J., the school authorities have seized the student press and censored articles unfavorable to the Establishment's way of thought. At Manhattan it was criticism of Cardinal Spellman that prompted the act, at Seton Hall it was the student criticism of the Philosophy Department.

5) At St. John's University in Brooklyn a two year struggle between faculty and administration has centered on the issue of freedom. Both students and faculty were prevented from holding meetings on the campus by police directed by the administration.

William Massey, Jr.

Thought for the Week

"Exposure to war toys prepares a child for adult reality. It is unfair to isolate a child from guns when chances are he will eventually be drafted into the army as part of our effort to maintain peace." — Maurice Martin, president of Multiple Products, a toy firm.

It Was Reported in the Press

Most Likely Story of the Year

— Detroit police are looking for a "female tough" who allegedly propositioned a cop, hit him when he declined, and then ran off with his wrist watch. The cop's story is that when he parked his car the woman got in. When he identified himself after her proposition, he said, she slugged him and took off with his watch. He managed to hold onto her overcoat. He said the woman was between 17 and 20 years old, 5'2" and 105 pounds, but he wasn't certain he could identify her.

Feature That — A headline in the *New York Times* reported: "Mississippi Angry at Bias Charge."

Withdrawal Symptoms? — Now we know why so many students are upset about things like Vietnam. Addressing a science symposium in La Jolla, Calif., last month, a Dr. W. Ross Adey of the University of California, discussed the effects of LSD, the hallucination-producing drug. The *New York Times* reported: "Those who take the drug, Dr. Adey said, became highly susceptible to new influences and new ideas. He believes that this has played a role in increasing the political and social activity of students on certain campuses."

Civil Rights in Florida — A Florida circuit court judge ruled Dec. 4 that persons convicted of petty larceny in municipalities are not guilty of violating the state election code by registering to vote. More than 120 people had been arrested on this trumped-up charge last fall. Those who pleaded guilty were fined \$50 and given a year's probation. The arrests were a crude effort to intimidate Negroes seeking their right to the ballot.

It Figures — At a hearing of the New York State Legislature it was disclosed that Albert Bowker, Chancellor of New York City University, made simultaneous proposals to begin charging students a tuition fee and to raise the salaries of city college presidents. They now draw \$30,000 a year.

Big-Deal Dep't — The Federal government is using convicts for

space research. The men are put through rigorous tests to determine the effects of acute heat stress and simulated weightlessness. In return for their services, which stretches over a period of several weeks, the men receive \$25 and three days off their sentences.

Season's Greetings — News item: "NEWARK — Plans for 'beefed up' patrol and detective forces in Downtown Newark during the Christmas holiday were announced this week..."

Gift Problem Solved — We've solved the annual problem of what to get our wife for Xmas. Our bedroom is so small you literally have to climb over the bed to get to the window and it always bothered us that she had to climb across that scratchy old wool blanket. So, we're going up to Saks Fifth Avenue and pick up a \$595 mink bed throw. (It will come as a surprise Xmas morn because when she reads this she'll think it's just a gag). And while we're uptown, we may drop in at Bonwit Teller's for a matching mink blouse. Only \$300.

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Montgomery Bus Boycott Anniversary

E. D. Nixon Honored at Dinner

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — E. D. Nixon, organizer of the Montgomery bus boycott was guest of honor here Dec. 11 at a dinner celebrating the tenth anniversary of that historic civil rights struggle. It was sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum.

In addition to Mr. Nixon, the gathering heard Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, and Fred Halstead, staff writer for *The Militant*. Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, was toastmaster. All three had met E. D. Nixon in Montgomery during the bus boycott.

Messages were received from friends and co-workers of E. D. Nixon, including one from rights fighters Carl and Anne Braden which is printed below.

Mrs. Prathia Wynn, staff member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, attended as a representative of that organization.

Outstanding entertainment was provided by Bill Fredericks, a young folk singer, and E. D. Nixon Jr., a professional singer and actor.

Fredericks sang a song he composed about the civil rights struggle based on the cry heard during the Watts outbreak, "Burn, Baby, Burn." E. D. Nixon Jr., who recently appeared in the hit production, "The Blacks" and is in the

Sammy Davis movie now in production, "A Man Called Adam," sang songs about the freedom movement. One was a composition of his own based on "Old Man River" and called "Old Man Freedom."

The gathering gave a rousing ovation to Mrs. E. D. Nixon. In his speech, E. D. Nixon said of her: "She stood behind me year after year and has done a tremendous job." When their home was bombed during the boycott, he said, her response was: "We're not going to let that scare us. We can't quit."

He recalled that on an earlier occasion when his life was threatened by racists and he suggested she go out of town, she replied: "I'm not going anywhere, I don't believe they're coming, but they may. I'd rather be the widow of a man that had the courage to fight than be the wife of a coward."

Farrell Dobbs paid tribute to E. D. Nixon as "a pioneer leader in the freedom struggle in the South."

He told the audience: "This weekend in Montgomery, the tenth anniversary of the boycott is being celebrated. But unfortunately Mr. Nixon was not included in the program. We of the Militant Labor Forum felt that he should be included, that he before all others should be recognized as the pioneer, the founding leader, the

initiator, the spark plug and principal man of the hour in the battle."

Dobbs also informed the gathering that both the Montgomery morning *Advertiser* and evening *Journal* had reported that the Militant Labor Forum would pay tribute to Mr. Nixon.

Dobbs then read the biographical data on E. D. Nixon in the *Who's Who in the South and Southwest*. It described him as "a civic leader and Pullman porter." He was president of the Montgomery division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters since 1938. With a marvelous piece of understatement, the book describes how he "secured a revision of the physical arrangements of the railroad station ticket office."

It adds that he organized the Montgomery Voters League and was instrumental in getting Negroes registered to vote. He was president of the Montgomery NAACP from 1947 to 1951 and president of the NAACP state organization until 1952. He was, in 1954, the first Negro to run for public office in Montgomery. He has been a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund since 1952. And, the report states, he "organized Montgomery Improvement Association in 1955 to protest treatment of Negroes on city buses."

Fred Halstead described how he had gone to Montgomery in March of 1956 to do a story on the boycott movement that had begun Dec. 5, 1955 after Rosa Parks had been convicted of refusing to yield her seat at the front of the bus to a white man.

On his arrival in Montgomery Halstead found the Negro community close mouthed with an unknown Northern white. He finally found a local white man who could open the doors for him. It was novelist Alfred Maund, then on the staff of the late Aubrey Williams' publication, the *Southern Farmer* which was published in Montgomery.

The Originator

After discussion, Maund said, "I'll take you to the man who started the whole thing," and took him to the home of E. D. Nixon for an interview.

Halstead quoted from the *Black Worker*, voice of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, on the occasion of Nixon's retirement last year. The paper wrote:

"It must be said that the Rev. Martin Luther King may never have been given the Nobel Peace Award if it were not for the fact that Brother Nixon induced Rev. King to take the leadership of the Montgomery Improvement Association which ultimately was successful in abolishing discrimination in bus transportation."

Clifton DeBerry gave an excellent summary of the principal achievements of the boycott movement. The text of his speech will appear in a coming issue of *The Militant*.

The high point of the evening was the speech by E. D. Nixon. A sturdy, stern looking man, his face relaxes as he indulges in his liking for a joke or humorous side remark. His simply worded speech warmed the hearts of the old timers present and was particularly inspiring to the young people. Many of them were hearing for the first time the kind of an authentic spokesman who emerges from the ranks of a working class movement.

Emphasizing that the Montgomery Improvement Association, which was organized to lead the boycott movement, was the outgrowth of many previous struggles in the city, he described the organizations he had participated in and led prior to the MIA.



Militant photo by Finer

CELEBRATION. At Militant Labor Forum dinner on tenth anniversary of Montgomery bus boycott, Mrs. E. D. Nixon, E. D. Nixon and Farrell Dobbs.

"So you see," he commented, "the Montgomery Improvement Association was not started just because someone came to town or someone felt it was the proper thing to do at this time. It was started because there had been a struggle of people for long years."

He told how Rosa Parks had been the third person to be arrested for defying bus Jim Crow but he felt she was the first one who could be relied on for a test case. She had been his secretary in the NAACP and other organizations, he recalled, over a period of 12 years.

Describing how he organized the meeting to establish the protest movement, he said: "The first person I called was the Rev. Ralph Abernathy. He said, 'I believe you have the right idea. I'll go along.'"

The second person he called was Rev. H. H. Hubbard who said, "Yes, I'll go along with it." "The third person I called," he continued, "was the Rev. M. L. King and he said to me, 'Well Nixon, I don't know. Let me think about it for a while.' So, to make a long story short, I called 15 other people, and I gave Rev. King time to pray over it or whatever he wanted to do. And I called him back and he was number 18 on my list and he agreed to go along with us."

On Dec. 5 Rosa Parks was convicted and fined \$10. At that point, Nixon declared, "50,000 Negroes rose up and grabbed the 'Cradle of the Confederacy' and began to rock it!"

But on the very day of the first mass meeting many of the ministers were still reluctant to make the fight. "I almost lost patience with them," Nixon said. "I told them what I thought about them and told them 'Unless you accept this program this evening, there'll be more than a thousand people at the church tonight. I'll take the microphone and tell the people that we don't have a program because you all are too cowardly to stand on your feet and fight.' So then they all decided to go along."

More than 4,500 people turned out for the mass meeting. The MIA was established. A car pool was organized that provided trans-

portation for the entire Negro community for a full year while the boycott held fast despite bombings of Nixon's and King's homes and wholesale arrests of boycott leaders.

Nixon described the impressive support the boycott movement won throughout the country. While he was treasurer of the MIA during the boycott period, he said, he accounted for income and expenditures of \$415,000, all of it contributions from organizations and individuals.

"Many People Came"

"Many people came to Montgomery," he said. "People came from here — that was where I happened to meet the master of ceremonies here [Dobbs.] He came to my house and we had a long talk. We had station wagons and automobiles that were given to us. And the number one station wagon came from the master of ceremonies here tonight in the name of his organization."

Nixon continued: "The tenth anniversary of the Montgomery Improvement Association is also being celebrated in my home town. It is being celebrated by people who I spent more than 25 years trying to service prior to the MIA."

"But as you know," he continued, "in every organization there are people who get carried away by big words. There are sometimes people who get carried away by how the words are said. But I would say to you that there are two things that are important in dealing with organizations. One of them is not how much you say but how much you do. The other thing is not just to say things but to tell the truth about the things you deal with. And that's what I have tried to contribute to the Montgomery Improvement Association and to any other organization I have dealt with."

"Consequently," he added, "in doing that I sometimes have to stand by myself. But if telling the truth makes me stand alone, then I'm a lone stander throughout my life."

Pointing to the surge of the Southern movement, he concluded: "I once told a tale about a young man who had a basket full of puppies. He was going down the street trying to sell them and he stopped at a lady's house and asked her, 'Madam, would you like to have a puppy?' She asked, 'How much are they?' 'Twenty-five cents.' She looked at them and said, 'They beautiful, but no, I reckon not.'

"So he went home and the next morning the woman called and said, 'Son, have you got any more of those puppies?' 'Yes, mam.' She said, 'How much did you say they are?' 'Fifty cents.' She said, 'Why are they 50 cents today when yesterday you said they were a quarter?' He said, 'Their eyes are open.'

"So the gist of the story is the Negro in the South will not be sold for a quarter anymore. His eyes are open."

Bradens' Tribute To E. D. Nixon

The following is the text of the message sent to the Militant Labor Forum dinner honoring E. D. Nixon by Carl and Anne Braden. Carl Braden is field organizer of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Anne Braden is editor of the *Southern Patriot*, monthly publication of SCEF.

E. D. Nixon is one of our oldest and best friends. A mainstay of the movement in the South and of our organization, the spark he lit at Montgomery in 1955 has kept the movement aglow for these ten years and has been a major factor in all our efforts.

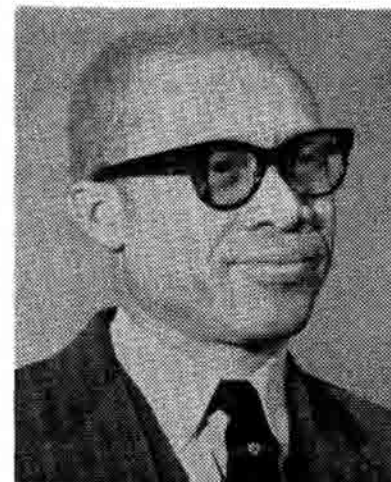
Indeed, the latest phase of the struggle for freedom in the South dates from his work with Mrs. Rosa Parks and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in the hard days of Montgomery.

The late president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Aubrey W. Williams, often related how Mr. Nixon stirred the people of Montgomery with a series of leaflets which the newspapers reprinted and thus spread the word.

The time was right, the people were there, and E. D. Nixon struck at the right time. A real trade unionist and leader of his people, we join in saluting this great man.



Anne and Carl Braden



Clifton DeBerry